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VI.—HISTORY OF THE USE OF *ἐάν* FOR *ἄν* IN RELATIVE CLAUSES.

The seventeenth edition of Winer's *N. T. Grammar* states in connection with the use of *ἐάν* for *ἄν* in relative clauses, that the editors of the text of the *N. T.* have not yet ventured to change *ἐάν* to *ἄν* in these cases. Grammarians have made no attempt to explain this peculiarity of the later Greek language which is prevalent in the Septuagint.¹

In classical Greek there is MS authority for its usage in two places; Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 3, 10, 12; Lysias, 17, 18, whose dates may be placed at 400–375 B. C., at least one hundred and twenty-five years before the earliest translations of the LXX. Fischer, Becker, Dindorf and many others correct to *ἄν*; Athenaeus 12, p. 517 (date 228 A. D.) and Achilles Tat. (date 500 A. D.) give instances of late classical usage.

In the first translation of the Hebrew Bible (250 B. C. ca.) the usage is very common. It occurs sixteen times in Genesis, twelve in Exodus, thirty in Deuteronomy, very frequently in Leviticus and throughout the prophetic books. There are more examples of this usage in one of the books of the Pentateuch than in the entire works of Polybius, Philo and Josephus. The usage is common in the Gospels and in the Pauline writings. We have therefore in the LXX data covering the period 250 B. C. to 100 A. D. at least. Grenfell and Hunt's three volumes of Papyri yield many examples of the usage. Volume I of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri yields examples dating 81 to 600 A. D. Volumes one and two of the Egyptian Papyri give but one case dating 400 A. D. The Byzantine writers show an occasional usage of *ἐάν* for *ἄν*. It is common in Polycarp, Clement of Rome and Origen, but rare in Josephus and Philo.

Winer's suggestion that the peculiarity is based upon popular usage is supported by the evidence of its use in the non-literary Papyri as early as 81 A. D. Among the Papyri dating 127 B. C. to 81 A. D. the relative conditional clauses have invariably the classical form with *ἄν*. On the other hand, the fact that nearly

¹Comp. Jannaris. § 1774 gives more; e. g. *Mem.* 4, 2, 29; *Hiero* 1, 14.

all the examples of the usage before the first century A. D. are found in the translations of Hebrew or in writings which are under Hebraic influence is a strong argument for suspecting that the peculiarities of the Hebrew language had something to do with this peculiarity of the later Greek.

Only two cases occur before the LXX. If these two cases in Xenophon and Lysias represent a popular usage, it would seem, then, that there was something in the idiom which appealed to the Septuagint translators as expressing something which the regular form with *άν* did not express, and as suitable for translating some idiom of Hebrew which could not be expressed by the regular construction.

We are confronted at the outset of our study of the usage in the LXX by the enormous number of variant readings of *έάν* and *άν*. The Vatican manuscript B shows an inconsistent use of *έάν*. Codex Ambrosianus persistently corrects to *άν*, while no one of the texts is consistent with itself as a whole. However, by separating all the cases which have variant readings from those cases wherein all the MSS agree, and by studying the latter cases by themselves we can arrive at a consistent usage of *έάν* for *άν* in the LXX.

Genesis 6/17 and 26/2 furnish good examples of the distinction of *έάν* and *άν* in relative clauses.

1) 6/17; *ὅσα ἐάν ᾗ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τηλευτήσῃ*

2) 26/2; *κατοίκησον δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ ᾗ ἂν σοι ἔπω*

The distinction in these two relative clauses is due to an effort to distinguish between the complete and the incomplete relative clause in Hebrew. The Hebrew of 6/17 is *בְּלֹא אֲשֶׁר בְּאֶרֶץ יְנוּעַ* and of 26/2 *שָׁבוּ בְּאֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אָמַר אֱלֹהִים*

A distinction is here made between a relative clause which has an antecedent in Hebrew and that which has no antecedent; the former with antecedent is known as an incomplete relative clause and the latter without antecedent is known as a complete relative clause. *בְּ* can not be regarded as the antecedent of *אֲשֶׁר* in the first example. The relative clause is therefore treated as complete. Now this assumes on the part of the translators a feeling for Semitic idiom. *אֲשֶׁר* like *ša* in Assyrian is not a relative pronoun but merely a particle of relation and much weaker than *šā* or *šāa* which carry with them a pronominal as well as a relative force. The *אֲשֶׁר* of the complete relative clause having no antecedent

to define it is thus in the feeling of a Greek doubly weak, hence the Septuagint translator strengthens the translation of a complete relative clause by using the stronger form *ἐάν* regarding his *šša* as representing a word too weak to begin the condition. In other words *ἐάν* is used in translating the Hebrew relative clause which has no antecedent and *ἄν* in translating the Hebrew relative clause which has an antecedent. Compare also Genesis 2/19; 21/22; 24/41; 30/33; 41/45 with 24/14; 26/2; 48/6.

A complete statement for the LXX of Genesis is:—

<i>ἄν</i> with antecedent	5 times.	<i>ἐάν</i> with antecedent	2 times.
<i>ἄν</i> without	“ 0 “	<i>ἐάν</i> without	“ 8 “

This table applies only to cases without variant readings. The Alexandrian MS, which is the best authority for the text of Genesis, translates every case of *אֲנִי* with antecedent by *ἄν* and is corrected to *ἐάν* by MSS F, E and D in four places. MS A yields two more cases of *ἐάν* without antecedent, making the number of such cases in Genesis ten. DE and DF each yield one, making the number in Genesis twelve. I am inclined to agree with the more difficult reading *ἐάν* in cases where respectable MSS offer variant readings. This would give, as stated above, twelve cases of *ἐάν* without antecedent against two cases where it is used with antecedent as in Genesis 15/14, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ᾧ ἐάν κτέ. and 20/13 εἰς πάντα τόπον οὗ ἐάν εἰσέλθωμεν. Philo, Quis Rerum Div. Heres, 55, quotes Gen. 15/14 with *ἄν* which may be based on upon some unknown MS or may be a correction by him.

The table for Deuteronomy is:—

<i>ἄν</i> with antecedent	29 times.	<i>ἐάν</i> with antecedent	once.
<i>ἄν</i> without	“ 2 “	<i>ἐάν</i> without	“ 10 times.

F changes four of the cases of *ἐάν* without antecedent to *ἄν*. B writes *ἐάν* in thirteen cases with antecedent, all of which are read *ἄν* by A and F. A and F disagree with B in most cases in the Pentateuch. After F drops out in Joshua the variants between A and B grow less and less, although throughout the LXX there is a tendency in B to use *ἐάν* indiscriminately. In the entire LXX, however, there are but thirteen cases of *ἐάν* used with antecedent and ninety-one cases of its use without antecedent in undisputed readings.

That the usage was suited to translate this idiom of Hebrew is shown by the different treatment it receives in the books of the Maccabees. First Maccabees is based upon a Hebrew original (ca. 105-50 B. C.) and yields no cases of *ἐάν* with antecedent against three without. Third Maccabees uses *ἐάν* once with antecedent.

Outside of translations from Hebrew the use of *ἐάν* in relative sentences is rare. The Logia of Jesus, written originally in Aramaic, yield over two-thirds of the relative conditional clauses with *ἐάν* in the New Testament. There are no examples of *ἐάν* with antecedent in the N. T. which are without variant readings. Codex D has consistently corrected *ἐάν* to *ἄν* in over half the cases where *ἐάν* occurs in relative clauses, repeating the example of F in the Hexateuch. No single MS is consistent with itself. It is only by eliminating the variants that the law of the usage can be fixed.

The Logia of Jesus are about evenly divided between *ἐάν* and *ἄν*. Compare Matthew 5/22; 5/31; 20; 27 with 5/32; 12/32; 16/19; 18/18. The versions of Symmachus, Theodotion and Aquila yield seven cases of *ἐάν* in relative sentences, all of which are without antecedent. Compare in Field's Hexapla Dt. 26/2; Ez. 3/1; Gen. 11/6. Philo and Josephus follow the classical usage almost wholly, even correcting *ἐάν* to *ἄν* in their LXX quotations. In the entire works of Philo there are only five cases of *ἐάν* in relative clauses, and these are all without antecedent; cf. *Lex Alleg.* bk. 3/16 and 3/195, also Volume two of Cohn's edition, pages 16, 20 and 236.

In Josephus the usage is classical. I have collated only Volume one of Niese's edition, in which every case has a variant reading. Irenaeus, Eusebius, Origen and Clement of Alexandria follow the usage of the LXX. Compare Vol. 8 of Migne's *Patrologie*, page 187, *ὅς ἐάν* without antecedent, also page 358. In Irenaeus, Vol. 7 of the *Patrologie*, page 657, footnote, a passage* of Irenaeus is reproduced as misquoted by the Heretics. In the text of the Heretics *ἄν* without antecedent of Irenaeus is quoted as *ἐάν*, pointing again to popular usage. In Clement of Rome *ἐάν* is used frequently in clauses without antecedent. Compare *Ad Cor.* 12/6; *Epistle of Barnabas* 7/11 and *Hermas Pastor* 3/4.

Enough evidence* has been produced to prove that the influence of Hebrew upon the Greek relative clause has been extensive

and consistent. The usage begins to be frequent with the translations from Hebrew and is continued in Jewish Christian writings. On the other hand, there are evidences pointing to its origin in the popular idiom. This origin I conjecture to have been caused by the effort to emphasize the abstract conditional aspect of the relative clause. This would of course occur much more frequently with relatives without antecedent than when they were defined by an antecedent. Both of the cases in classical Greek are without antecedents. This popular idiom met the necessity which the LXX translators felt in their effort to distinguish between the complete and incomplete relative clauses when translating from Hebrew. The transcribers of A, and especially of F, objected to this vernacular expression and corrected to the classical form.

The construction known as *casus pendens* doubtless had something to do in influencing the translators to use *ἐάν* in relative clauses. Compare II Chron. 6/29 where *πᾶσα δέησις* represents *כָּל תַּחֲנוּנָה* in the *casus pendens* construction, which is therefore unconnected with the following construction. The *וְשֵׁנִי* in this sentence is therefore treated as having no antecedent and is translated by *ἢ ἐάν*. The usage therefore depends upon two things, 1) the presence or absence of an antecedent, 2) the conditional force of the relative clause.

In the N. T. the rule of using *ἐάν* in sentences without antecedent is invariably followed, almost invariably in the O. T. and in Christian Greek writers. Beginning with relative pronominal clauses the usage spread to relative 'adverbial' clauses. *ὅς ἐάν* occurs once in LXX, Judges 7/5; several times in Clement of Rome and later writers, and the use of *ἄν* or *ἐάν* with *καθότι*, *καθὼς*, *ὥς*, *οὗ* ('where'), depends in LXX largely upon whether the original Hebrew *אֵשֶׁר*, *בְּאֵשֶׁר*, etc., have an antecedent or not, although the usage with relative adverbs is generally classical in LXX.